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The Shape of Things

THE NATION ASSOCIATES' CONFERENCE, held last week-end at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, was a success measured both by the content of the papers and the intelligence and enthusiastic participation of the delegates and other guests. The attendance at the five "working" sessions averaged more than five hundred and represented a wide range of co-operating organizations, some sixty in all. Members and guest delegates came from at least eighty-five cities in seventeen states, including places as remote as Washington and California. There were several persons from Canada, and one member reported that this was the fifth Nation Associates conference she had come from Detroit to attend. As for the dinner-forum on Sunday evening, the eight hundred-odd guests listened eagerly to a group of speakers who brought the conference to a serious and stimulating conclusion. The three distinguished Europeans who came over specifically for the dinner were heard with particular respect as they discussed, from the point of view of themselves and their fellow-citizens caught in the center of cold-war tension, the final, crucial question: What should be the basis of an agreement between East and West? But the effect of the conference was not summed up in any one session. It was cumulative and resulted from an amazing collaboration among speakers and delegates. The program of the working sessions was carefully arranged to allow time for active discussion, and many valuable contributions came directly from the floor. The whole meeting reflected not merely concern over the threat of war and a sharp realization of what war would mean but an energetic will to do something about it. Taken all together, the speeches and comments, despite freely aired differences, offered a coherent and all but unanimous support of *The Nation's* firmly held view that patient efforts must still be made to conciliate the differences between Russia and the West and that the all-or-nothing philosophy implied in "total diplomacy" must be rejected. The excellent papers presented at the sessions cannot be reviewed in this space, but we plan to publish in a special supplement to appear two weeks hence the proceedings of all six sessions in as complete form as possible.

A REPORTED REQUEST BY BRITAIN FOR American assistance in solving the problem of its war-time debts to Asiatic countries has been dismissed out of hand by Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who described it as "astounding." What seems more astounding is that a man in the Senator's position should be both blind to the relation of this problem to the strengthening of Asia against communism and ignorant of the fact, freely reported in the press, that American officials have been pressing the British government for months to take action on these debts. The American view is that they should be scaled down, funded, and paid off in moderate instalments over a long period. This would bring sterling convertibility nearer and ease the drain on British resources caused by the very large payments on account which Britain has made in the last few years. The chief British creditors are India and Pakistan, very poor countries which are struggling to safeguard their internal stability by means of rapid economic development. The money owed them by Britain represents their major source of capital, and if repayment were checked they might well experience economic and political crisis. The recent British memorandum—not a request or proposal—addressed to the State Department appears to have suggested that if the United States adopts a program of economic aid to southeast Asia, the sterling debts should be considered as part of the picture. That seems no more than common sense. Unfortunately, the mixture of suspicion and ignorance that so often poisons the atmosphere on Capitol Hill makes intelligent international cooperation on such matters difficult if not impossible.

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THE EMOTIONALISM OF MAYOR O'DWYER is becoming a sore trial to New Yorkers. His demonstrations of pique in last fall's campaign and his resentment toward the Liberal Party, which opposed him, are at least understandable, though hardly the marks of maturity. More indicative was his gratuitous insult to Sir Basil Brooke a few weeks ago. As though he were Mayor not of New York but of his native Bohola in County Mayo, Mr. O'Dwyer truculently announced that the Prime Minister of Ulster would be received at City Hall only over his dead body. But these

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irrational outbursts pale beside the performance His Honor put on last week in the face of student demonstrations for a much-needed increase in the salaries of their high-school teachers. Granted that the pupils could not be allowed to run amok over lower Manhattan, it should not have been beyond the Mayor to handle them with dignity and dispatch. Instead of having the police chase them through the streets while he denounced their teachers for having allegedly encouraged them, he might have received a deputation and heard their grievance. At the very least, this would have been a civics lesson on the right of petition. But the Mayor had the defensive jitters about his own \$15,000 salary increase and burst out at the Board of Estimate: "If the Mayor is not worth that, he shouldn't be here, and if he hasn't got the guts to go and get it, he shouldn't be here." The teachers, he implied, were not only expected to carry on, no matter what they were paid, but to continue giving their own time, free of charge, to the direction of extra-curricular programs. It is on this latter point that the rebellion centers, and the case for the students lies in the curtailment of such activities. When a Mayor demands more money, it seems, that's "guts" and highly admirable; when a teacher does the same, it's subversion.

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MAGNIFICENTLY SITUATED ON MT. SCOPUS stands the Hebrew University which this week celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary. Its fine buildings, formerly thronged with more than a thousand students, now reverberate only to the footsteps of guards and maintenance workers, whose food and relief must be brought in by convoy over the Arab-held roads. Down below in the new city, classes meet in crowded, make-shift lecture halls. But the sadness evoked by this picture is dispelled when one considers the handicaps overcome in the past by this great Middle Eastern center of learning. Conceived by Chaim Weizmann and his friends at the end of the nineteenth century as an answer to the exclusion of Jews from institutions of higher education in Russia, the project remained a dream until July 24, 1918. Then, even though Palestine was still an active front, Dr. Weizmann successfully argued in favor of laying the foundation stones as an act of faith in the ultimate victory of the Allies, staggering under the impact of Germany's last, and nearly triumphant, drive on Paris. The struggles of the early days of the mandate delayed the formal opening until 1925, but since that time the university has become an academic institution of the first rank. Supported mostly by private funds and open to students of all races and creeds, it is none the less primarily engaged in the tremendous task of preparing young men and women to fill Israel's pressing need for trained scientists, teachers,

and scholars. Today the university, uprooted and exiled from its plant, awaits an intelligent solution of the impossible situation in Jerusalem in order to go ahead with its work.

What Is Socialism?

THE President of the United States recently felt called upon to observe that it was "an insult to the intelligence of the American people" to drag out the "motheaten scarecrow of socialism." But the long-suffering public intelligence continues to be bombarded by such insults, which appear to be the more brazen the farther their source is from the lunatic fringe which formerly had a corner on such fraudulence.

Addressing presumably literate men last week, Edwin S. Friendly, president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, called on the press to "sharpen its vigilance" against the "evils of . . . the welfare state, . . . communism disguised as democratic socialism." The government, he warned, was trying to fasten its clutches on the nation's press by means of "inequitable" postal rates. The logic here is a little muddy. The lower the rates, the more the government would be subsidizing the press, which has never paid its way through the mails. In this one case, presumably, government subsidy is fine—good American doctrine. But let the government shell out a nickel for the welfare of any other sector of the economy and you have rank socialism.

Where Mr. Friendly sees "communism disguised as democratic socialism," Senator Byrd sees "socialism in welfare-state clothing," indicating the murky atmosphere in which we move. Truman's policies, the Virginia statesman advised the Academy of Political Science, "commit us irrevocably to a socialistic state from which there can be no retreat." And to clarify the issue, he challenges the President, if he is really against socialism, to answer a series of questions: Why does he send Oscar Ewing to England to gather information about the British health program? Why is he for the Brannan plan and "socialized housing"? Why does his government lend money to the Kaiser Corporation? And why does he "pressurize Congress" for enactment of his civil-rights program?

So monumental is the confusion, deliberate and otherwise, suggested by these questions that the task of unraveling it staggers the imagination. Socialism, first and foremost, is an economic system in which capital goods are publicly owned and the profit system abolished. It has nothing to do with an auxiliary system of health insurance, which doctors are free to join or ignore. Still less has it to do with a meager program whereby government finances a few badly needed houses which private industry does not care to build. Loans

to private corporations through the RFC date back to that great Socialist, Herbert Hoover. Guy Gabrielson, the Republican chairman who coined the slogan "Liberty or Socialism," heads a company, the Carthage Hydrocol Corporation, which has received more than \$18,000,000 in loans from this very agency. And the civil rights demanded in the President's program—this is almost embarrassing to point out to a Senator—are carefully spelled out in the Constitution of the United States.

As long as questions are being asked, we should like to put one to Senator Byrd. Why didn't he cry out against what he calls socialism when the Commodity Credit Corporation bought more than 30,000 bushels of apples in his state, to be used in the school-lunch program? Is it perhaps because Byrd, a big apple-grower, had an interest in this thinly disguised price support? Senator Douglas, no friend of "statism," pointed out in reply to Byrd that the growing concentration of economic power and the necessity of warding off another depression require federal intervention for the sake of the general welfare. But his arguments did not seem to make good copy for the press. Senator Hubert Humphrey was perhaps more pointed in a speech on the same subject made in Richmond. Under the "welfare state," he said, "profits are at the highest level that they have ever been in the nation's history," with General Motors alone announcing a record-breaking \$600,000,000 in profits for the year 1949.

Back in the jolly days of "free enterprise," profits never approached today's figures, even after taxes, and bankers were periodically driven to leap out of skyscraper windows. Socialism, it begins to appear, is a system under which it is possible to walk in Wall Street without fear of being struck by falling capitalists.

Churchill's Balloon

ONCE again the Labor government has survived a challenge by the opposition, but it proved a narrow squeak—304 to 299. The immediate issues were two items in the budget—the doubled tax on gasoline and the new purchase tax on commercial vehicles, which Tories and Liberals attacked as adding to both the cost of living and the cost of production. Nevertheless, it was clear from the tenor of the preceding debate that the Tories were attempting to indict not merely these particular imposts but Labor's whole economic and financial policy.

In a major speech Mr. Churchill accused the government of "the most amazing dissipation of national resources on record," of defrauding the people of the country by devaluing sterling, and of indulging in class hatred by penal taxation of large incomes. A

Tory government, he said, would find means of effecting substantial economies so that it could reduce taxation; it would, he hinted, raise the purchasing power of the pound. But even though, had one or two more Labor men fallen ill, Mr. Churchill might have been back in Downing Street forty-eight hours after he spoke, he gave no clue to the means by which these objectives could be achieved.

Yet this is surely the crux of the matter. As Sir Stafford Cripps said in his reply, "If we examine any of the suggestions of really substantial economies, they involve a change of policy toward a free economy which would mean the same sort of thing, in smaller or greater degree, as we experienced between the wars, when, I freely admit, the rich were better off than they are today at the cost of a great deal of poverty and unemployment."

The Tories know that this is true and that they could only meet their pledges to restore freedom of enterprise and make large reductions in taxes by breaking their election promises to keep the social services intact and to maintain full employment. This dilemma makes for a certain ambiguity in both their policies and tactics. Mr. Churchill and his friends long to turn the Labor rascals out, but they fear that if they succeed and there is another election, they will win at best a meager majority. Would they then dare to flout the wishes of a large part of the population by slashing welfare and creating unemployment? Yet how else are they to satisfy the class interests they represent, interests which insist taxes must come down and believe that only the fear of unemployment will restore "labor discipline"?

The problems raised by these questions may explain why Mr. Churchill, at the end of his speech on April 25, suddenly started to think aloud on the subject of coalitions. How much better it would have been, he suggested, if the 1945 election had been as close as the 1950 one: then the war-time National government might easily have been reinstated for the purpose of winning the peace. Now, he admitted, it was probably "vain to suppose that anything but a blinding emergency, internal or external, would revive the comradeship of the war-time years, or that an artificial arrangement between party leaders would meet our needs."

Nevertheless, if the Conservative press is any guide, it is just such an arrangement that the Tories are hankering after. They think wishfully of their triumph in 1931, when they enticed Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden to become the Labor stalking horses for a National government committed to a Tory policy of deflation. If they could repeat that performance they would split the Labor Party once again and, when facing the electorate, not have to accept sole responsibility for the consequences. But Mr. Attlee is not a Mac-

Donald, nor is his Chancellor of the Exchequer a Snowden. Cripps quickly punctured the Churchillian balloon with the tart comment that coalition could only work "on the basis that everyone else abandoned his policy in favor of Mr. Churchill." He added, amid cheers from the Labor benches, "Whatever opposition members feel about it, we are not 'having any' on that basis."

There can be no doubt that Cripps voiced the sentiments of his party, and that not even its most right-wing members are inclined to walk into the Tory parlor. Nor can anyone claim popular support for a coalition on the ground that the country has shown itself to be evenly divided, for the policy that the Tories hope to put over by this means is very different in its emphasis from the program on which they appealed for votes at the election.

Joliot-Curie

THE DISMISSAL of Frederic Joliot-Curie is another example of the farcical conditions prevailing on the planet, where everybody seems to insist on things being what they aren't. A little more than a year ago, Joliot made a perfectly sensible speech at the Anglo-American Press Association in Paris. He said a number of things any independent scientist would have, but the moderate character of the speech deeply irritated the French Communist Party, which then insisted on Joliot making amends by taking an active part in the so-called "peace campaign" and by asserting time and again that a scientist should not cooperate in a war against Russia. The advisability of such declarations was surely questionable, but Joliot could not well refuse without breaking with the Communist Party. Considering the attacks to which he has been subjected by right-wing elements, this would have looked like knuckling under to the reactionaries.

But these declarations had little bearing indeed on his actual work in the Atomic Energy Institute, for it is an acknowledged fact that the French atomic plants, existing or planned, are far too small to enable the French ever to produce a bomb and can only be used for research work and making isotopes. And the achievements of the institute have been in the past, and would have been in the future, largely due to the exceptional scientific qualities of Joliot, whom nobody in France can replace. It did not therefore matter a whit whether he was a follower of Stalin or of the man in the moon, and the attitude of the French government, based on the idea that Joliot might be able to furnish French "secrets" to the Russians (who are already producing the A-bomb) is a sad combination of national vanity, technical ignorance, and anti-Communist neurosis.

I asked Joliot a year ago what he was going to do if he were fired. He said he didn't know but that a very large international industrial concern, interested in the new usage of a certain metal, was asking him to head its research department. This would surely put the joke on the French statesmen.

CLAUDE BOURDET

The McCarthy Method

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, April 28

ANY objective reporter covering Joe McCarthy's shenanigans must admit that up to the moment of his departure for Arizona last night he was still demonstrating a remarkable facility to keep himself in the spotlight without producing proof of any of his charges. As in the previous weeks of the Senate investigation into communism in the State Department, he was still using the Senate chamber as a forum for bringing up new accusations or repeating old ones with minor variations, thus maintaining the appearance of being on the offensive. One day, in complaining about the activities of the Tydings committee which is investigating his smears, he even managed to claim for himself the sensation of nausea that others have felt about his own operations.

McCarthy has introduced on the Senate floor the technique previously used chiefly by the more irresponsible members of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He has based his charges on leaks from government sources, gossip by the China lobby, and the fantasies of a clique of professional red-chasers. The current traffic in supposedly secret department files, reports of private telephone conversations, unofficial versions of testimony given before the Tydings committee in executive session is unparalleled even in Washington. Tydings has long been recognized as one of the toughest infighters in the Senate, but he has not been able to make McCarthy put up or shut up.

Whether all this uproar will produce Republican votes in the November elections is another question. Some G. O. P. technicians, including men who shamefacedly admit that Jumping Joe's tactics are deplorable, insist that the Democratic Party is being hurt, and the Republicans therefore helped, "out in the country." It is nevertheless noticeable that most Republicans up for reelection this year are staying as far away from McCarthy as they possibly can. Senator Alexander Wiley, McCarthy's senior colleague from Wisconsin, has not uttered a syllable in the whole debate. The Republicans who are actively helping McCarthy on the Senate floor are almost all extreme right-wing isolationists and conservatives, such as Jenner of Indiana and Mundt of South Dakota, who do not have to face the voters this year. The theory is pretty obvious. If any of McCarthy's charges stand up, this year's G. O. P. candidates think they will benefit. On the other hand, if McCarthy is wholly discredited, Republican incumbents will try to absolve themselves of sympathetic association with him.

Jumping Joe, after his own peculiar fashion, has given a virtuoso performance, in its sheer bravado and slick maneuver, under cover of Congressional immunity. But he cannot continue indefinitely to "prove" his charges by hearsay testimony, by quotations torn out of context—not to mention "quotations," of his own invention—by descriptions of supposed events which the Republican chairman of the State Department Loyalty Board promptly declares to be false, by wholesale character assassination.

REVERTING to the matter of secret files, a little-noticed Supreme Court decision last week may have played hob with enforcement of the anti-trust laws and with many if not all of the Communist and conspiracy prosecutions of the Department of Justice. By a four-to-four vote—Justice Clark not participating—the court upheld a lower-court decision throwing out a Louisiana anti-trust suit because the Department of Justice refused to disclose its confidential FBI files either to the defendants or to the judge. The Louisiana federal judge insisted on his right to see the files to determine what parts, if any, the defendants should see.

Before the Supreme Court acted, Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman said that the lower court's decision, if allowed to stand, would "seriously interfere" with the anti-trust laws, because the FBI makes all anti-trust investigations and because "much helpful information comes in the form of complaining and informing letters" which the department considers confidential and privileged. Perlman hinted that the problem was "even broader," since it might set a precedent involving secret files in criminal cases, a question certain to be raised in the appeal of the eleven Communist leaders, as well as that of Judith Coplon. Perlman now cautiously admits that the whole question of the sanctity of FBI files may be heading toward "some kind of determination."

ARTHUR KROCK, who has a talent for getting excellent exclusive interviews from President Truman and John L. Lewis for the *New York Times*, printed an exclusive report the other day about a new political group calling itself Citizens for the American System. The sparkplug of the group, Krock wrote, is a Detroit trade-association executive named Frank Rising. The C. A. S., he continued, is taking a forthright stand against civil-rights legislation, government health insurance, and the "use of our resources to expand socialism or any other ideology in foreign lands"; it is in favor of letting employees belong to labor unions or

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not belong to labor unions; and it is going to support political candidates who agree with these views. Krock fears that the C. A. S. may be haunted by the ghost of the old Liberty League and says there are whispers that it is merely a "front for Detroit big business," but he is pretty rhapsodical in pointing out that the group's original manifesto was signed by exactly 600 persons—"the same in number as those who made the famous Charge of the Light Brigade." To complete the record, it should be reported that Frank Rising is not exactly a neophyte as an articulate worrier about the state of the nation—Detroit big business has been perturbed ever since it has had to deal with Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers. Rising has been a speaker before the National Association of Manufacturers, which undoubtedly views with approval the charge of his "light brigade" into anti-Fair Deal political action.

THE chances are slight that the McFarland commerce subcommittee will turn up much information about whether a nation-wide "syndicate" controls bookie betting and the policy and slot-machine rackets. The proper kind of inquiry was proposed by Senator Kefauver of Tennessee but ran into political road blocks. The Senate Democratic policy committee apparently feared that the Republicans would be quick to exploit any exposure of connections between Democratic city machines and the gamblers. When a compromise suitable to the Democrats was worked out, the Republicans balked because they could not get Senator Ferguson of Michigan and Senator Donnell of Missouri into the act. So Kefauver, who planned an honest non-political inquiry, sits on the sidelines, and McFarland's committee is questioning a few big-shot gamblers without advance preparation.

Preview of London

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE conference of Western Foreign Ministers which opens at London on May 8 promises to have the gravest and most far-reaching consequences of any held since the end of the war. The Quai d'Orsay takes this view of it and is preparing French public opinion for its expected decisions by a series of official statements and a well-organized newspaper campaign. Prime Minister Bidault, speaking at Lyon on April 18, showed that he was aware of the deep impression made by Russian propaganda against use of the atomic bomb: Joliot-Curie had demanded that the bomb be prohibited in a brilliant address at the Communist Party congress, as I mentioned in my last article, and the Communists had then canvassed every city and village, house by house, collecting signatures for a petition to that effect. With a Frenchman's quick sensitivity to public opinion M. Bidault countered by proposing the formation of a "Haut Conseil de l'Atlantique pour la Paix" (High Atlantic Council for Peace).

Laurent Casanova, who wields one of the wittiest pens in the party, attacked the Prime Minister's suggestion in *l'Humanité*. "M. Bidault," he said, "is like the specious monk who during Lent baptized plump chickens with the name 'carp.' His Atlantic Council is a Council for War, not Peace."

For a number of days meeting has followed meeting in government circles, all sorts of experts have been consulted, views have been exchanged among the various chancelleries. The subject to be discussed at London evidently calls for the most intensive preparation. The Finance Ministers of the Atlantic countries, meeting at

Brussels, decided that their national budgets would permit no increase in military expenditures and appointed a committee to draw up a report, the traditional method of sidestepping positive action. This report, instead of recommending a fusion of the military budgets of the Atlantic Pact countries, as some Americans propose, is expected to say that the method of financing the vast military program must be a "political decision"—in short, the bill for rearming Europe will be passed on to Washington.

"Will the United States," asked *Le Monde*, "accept the thesis of Europe's incapacity to pay and admit that it must itself supply the funds?" Opinion here is divided on this point. Some persons fear that American taxpayers will object to having their money used to rearm Europe instead of for domestic purposes. Others think that no price will be judged too high as long as the United States is determined to "stop" Russia and Washington regards negotiations as entirely useless.

It is feared that by its action on Germany the conference will definitely close the door to an understanding with the Soviet Union. In spite of all the dangers inherent in the situation that has existed for the last three years, Germany has always been a "possible subject for negotiation." Now as a result of the decisions taken at London there may be nothing left for the diplomats to discuss.

Official French propaganda is of course playing down the darker features of this perspective and trying to make palatable for an extremely intelligent and critical public Secretary Acheson's formula of "total diplomacy," plus the classic theory, revived before every war, of

"peace through force." What will be even harder for the French to swallow will be the discovery that Germany is to be one of the cornerstones of the "peace system" organized by the Atlantic powers. Five years of war in which the whole world was mobilized against Germany; and five years later this same Germany is to be rearmed! "*Mais c'est fou!*" exclaims the average Frenchman.

MR. ACHESON has repeatedly declared that the United States stands with France in opposing any rearmament of Western Germany for at least two years, and he is expected to give ample assurances on this point when he next visits Paris. The French recall, however, that various controls agreed upon at Yalta and Potsdam have already been abandoned. Moreover, American statements of policy, as reported in the French press, contain a disturbing reservation. Washington says: Germany shall not be rearmed before two years "unless the international situation changes irremediably for the worse."

The decision to wait two years before rearming Germany was based on the theory that Western Europe by then could count on an army of thirty-six divisions, of which six would be mobile British troops and twenty French, a much larger force than Germany could muster. At this very moment, however, Russia has 175 divisions, and the urgent need to overcome this enormous disproportion will inevitably make Allied military leaders demand the inclusion of Germany in military plans "at the first indication that the international situation is worsening"—surely a very indefinite moment.

To the French the rearmament of Germany is not only morally repugnant but politically senseless. They have no confidence that the Germans, after getting arms from the West, will not go over to the Russians. And their distrust is understandable. I asked a well-known authority on Germany, a man regularly stationed in Berlin but now on vacation in Paris—not a Frenchman and therefore able to view the matter objectively—if such doubts had any foundation. He replied somewhat cynically: "Everything will depend on how many troops the Americans have on the Rhine. If they have a million men there I believe they can depend on the Germans, can trust that the new German army will be loyal to the Western Allies. But if the Americans do not have a big force on the Rhine, the new German army will go over to the Russians and fight with them against the West." To show how fluid the situation is in Germany and how great is the uncertainty about which side the Germans will join, he told me that the industrialists of Rhineland-Westphalia were financing the propaganda of the National Front, which is working for the unification of Germany under Russian leadership. "They are playing both ends against the middle," he said, "and from the German point of view they are

justified in doing so as long as the Americans and Russians pursue their present policies toward Germany."

To make German rearmament even more absurd, the majority of Germans, in both the western and the eastern zone, are still against it, especially the youth. The EMNID Institute in Bielefeld, which conducts public-opinion polls, has asked twice recently whether young men want to serve in the Wehrmacht again. The first time the replies were 60.2 per cent and the second time 74.6 per cent No.

A SKILFUL politician, Chancellor Adenauer bows to the feeling that prevails at present among German youth. I say at present, for if the view that it is impossible to reach an understanding with Russia triumphs at London, and if the conference decides that arming against Russia means arming the Germans, the same young men who voted No in the Bielefeld poll will soon gladly put on uniform, as Germans have always done. Publicly Chancellor Adenauer is opposed to the "formation of voluntary German detachments" but consents to "German contingents which would be part of a European army and under the European high command." But all that is mere play with words. And so is the talk about weapons. The authority on Germany whom I quoted above said to me: "In the beginning the Germans will naturally not be authorized to make airplanes or tanks; only small arms and munitions. But if they start by manufacturing pistols they will end by building V-2's." "People would be idiots," he went on, "to think anything else. We have not forgotten what happened under the nose of the Allied control commissions set up after the first war."

While Dr. Adenauer seems to yield to popular sentiment against rearming, he knows that the policy of the Allies works to his advantage. Every time the Americans close the door to negotiations with the Russians, he exploits the occasion very cleverly. He never betrays any haste. When Germany was invited to join the Council of Europe, he merely mumbled a courteous acknowledgment. His detached attitude toward the whole project greatly irritated the Allied diplomats, who had often heard him insist that his sole ambition was to cooperate with other Western nations in building a new Europe. He got himself asked to the London conference but put off giving a definite reply, and meanwhile went to Berlin, raised the banner of German unity, and demanded new concessions from Paris, London, and Washington.

When he asked for "equal rights" and a shortening of the occupation period, a chorus of insolent voices began to sing "Deutschland über Alles"—it is said, at the Chancellor's request. This occurrence constrained Roger Massip, an ardent partisan of the Atlantic Pact, to write in the conservative *Figaro*: "How could the

French people receive this extraordinary manifestation with indifference when even the German Social Democrats denounced the Chancellor's speech and its echo among the bystanders as revealing the renaissance of the very forces which formerly imposed Nazism on the country?" A few days later, speaking at Bad Ems, Adenauer went still farther in challenging the Allies. He talked directly and brutally about reprisals against the West, and again led the crowd in singing "Deutschland über Alles." The mask has been discarded. And to those who during the last couple of years have criticized my comments on Germany as biased and incorrect, I simply offer these recent events.

Of course the Chancellor will finally accept rearmament, if only for these three reasons: first, because the

creation of a new German army and the development of war industries will solve the problem of unemployment, together with that of the refugees; second, because the easiest way to continue to get money from the Americans is to ask for it for rearmament; and third—I should really have put this first—because Dr. Adenauer is before everything else the Vatican's man, and the Vatican whatever it may say publicly, takes the lead in urging "peace through force."

Official announcements about the coming conference give the impression that it will have an enormous number of items on its agenda. In reality the German problem will be at the center of the whole discussion, and the solution that emerges will determine whether it has been a conference for peace or for war.

Is Europe's Crisis Permanent?

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

WHEN the Marshall Plan was adopted, leading American foreign-policy makers believed that after it ended, around 1952, Europe would be independent of further economic aid from the United States. They were also convinced that the Soviet Union would be unable to start atom-bomb production before 1952. Both assumptions have turned out to be unrealistic. There is now universal agreement that Europe will not be economically independent in 1952—that is, will not be able to carry its foreign-trade deficit without American aid. And the Russians began to make atom bombs in 1949.

According to the Second Report on the European Recovery Program, "the most that the participating countries expect to achieve over the next two years is a reduction of their dollar deficit to \$2,250,000,000." And this assumes that American prosperity will continue: that there will be no new recession, to say nothing of a severe depression. The existence of such a deficit after 1952 will of course be extremely serious. As the E. R. P. report states, "if no solution can be found to the dollar problem, the whole economic structure of Western Europe will collapse."

Today it is often admitted that it may have been a mistake to fix 1952 as the date when Europe would become independent of American aid. Perhaps, it is said, this will not happen until 1954, in which case we must devise measures to bridge the gap for two more years. In my opinion, however, we shall have to reckon with

Europe's economic dependence on the United States for a much longer period, indeed indefinitely.

Europe was once the political and industrial center of the world. Then, as now, it benefited from a preponderant share of the world's foreign trade. Today the world is controlled politically by two great powers to which foreign trade is much less important than it is to the nations of Europe.

In the past czarist Russia produced somewhat more than 4 per cent of the total world output, and its share of world trade was about the same, between 3 and 4 per cent. At the outbreak of World War II the Soviet Union accounted for more than 10 per cent of the world output, but its share of world trade had fallen to little more than 1 per cent. The sharp rise in Soviet production had thus gone hand in hand with a considerable strengthening of Soviet autarchy.

There has been a similar trend in the United States, although it has not been so marked and even today is not widely recognized. The United States' foreign trade was always less in proportion to its production than that of European countries, but in recent years this difference has been intensified. According to the New York *Times* of March 21, 1949:

In 1929 the value of the gross national product in the United States was \$103,800,000,000, and United States imports that year were \$4,500,000,000, or 4.3 per cent of the gross output. The Administration now notes, however, that despite larger imports since the war, many of them financed by the Marshall Plan, imports into the United States represent a much smaller percentage of the gross national product than in 1929. For example, total imports in 1948 were \$7,700,000,000, or 3 per cent of a gross national product valued

FRITZ STERNBERG, author of "Living with Crisis," is working on a new book, "Capitalism on Trial," to be published next year. A second article, discussing European integration, will soon appear in The Nation.

at \$262,400,000,000, while in 1949 United States imports totaled \$7,100,000,000, or only 2.8 per cent of the gross product, valued at \$257,400,000,000.

It is in a world, therefore, in which the two leading powers tend more and more toward self-sufficiency that Europe—so dependent on foreign trade for its food and raw-material needs—is expected to regain its economic equilibrium. In direct trade with the United States, Europe has never achieved a balance. But it used to be able to overcome its deficit by “invisible” exports—the proceeds of its foreign investments, shipping, and the like—and by an export surplus to “third” countries. Few of these “third” countries are now able to take Europe’s goods in the same amount as formerly. The Soviet government is trying to organize its European satellites into a ruble bloc. Its economic policy is clearly directed toward making the entire Soviet bloc independent of other countries and at the same time toward increasing the economic dependence of the satellites on the Soviet Union. Countries that once imported large quantities of European machine tools and finished goods in exchange for foodstuffs and raw materials are now forced to buy from Russia.

I pointed out a year ago, in my book “Living with Crisis,” that some of the Marshall Plan miscalculations were due to the assumption that after the termination of the plan, trade between the Western European nations on the one hand and the Soviet Union and its satellites on the other would return to its pre-war level. Subsequent developments have justified my skepticism on this point. The *New York Times* correspondent, Michael T. Hoffman, reported from Geneva on March 26:

The breakdown last week of the latest and possibly final effort to get the Soviet bloc to talk seriously about means of increasing East-West trade has forced Western economic officials to start a complete re-examination of the world trade pattern. . . . The Russians are not prepared to furnish, or to permit their satellites to furnish, anything like the volume of supplies the West had planned on getting by 1952. However, Western plans are still based on the original calculation made in 1947, and only slightly modified since, that the East would send to the West about as much as it did in 1938. In 1949 imports of Eastern products in exchange for Western industrial products were only about 40 per cent of 1938.

In addition to the “third” countries in Eastern Europe there used to be a number in Asia. But the Communists’ victory in China has already markedly altered that country’s foreign-trade policy, and if their advance continues, China’s neighbors will also trade less with Western Europe. In that case the Marshall Plan countries will find it still more difficult to keep down their trade deficit to the estimated figure.

Even if Communist expansion in Asia can be halted

at China’s borders, other forces are gathering that will increase the economic instability of Europe in 1952. The exacerbation of American-Soviet relations is causing the United States to modify its policy toward Japan and Germany, and the change is bound to have serious repercussions in Europe.

LET us first discuss Japan. At present the United States is covering Japan’s foreign-trade deficit. Therefore Japan must win new markets if it is to balance its foreign trade. Japan’s most important market lies at its doorstep, in China. Secretary of State Acheson recently stated that while China formerly obtained 50 per cent of its imports from the United States, the Chinese market never played an essential role in the American export industry. Japan, however—according to a statement by Heitaro Inagaki, Minister of Trade and Industry, before the Japanese Diet’s Budget Committee—hopes that Communist China will soon take from one-fourth to one-third of all its exports. Up to now Japan’s foreign trade with Communist China has not been transacted directly, but via Hongkong. “Japan’s trade with Hongkong from January to the end of August, 1949, amounted to \$24,000,000 in exports and \$17,000,000 in imports,” said the Minister of Trade. “The greater part of these imports and exports were transactions with the Chinese Communists.”

But Japan is not satisfied. A dispatch to the *New York Times* from Tokyo on February 3 stated:

Premier Shigeru Yoshida told the Diet today that Japan was ready to send trade representatives to Communist China as soon as the Allied High Command would permit. . . . Mr. Yoshida acknowledged that illegal trade between Japan and Communist China was “very active” and asserted it was the government’s opinion that exchange should be legalized as soon as possible.

Unless Japan soon gains a stronger foothold in the Chinese market, it will have to direct an intensified export offensive at other world markets. This prospect has already caused concern in England, which fears it could not then attain its export goals.

The situation in Germany is obviously of far greater significance to the Marshall Plan in its final phase and more likely to prolong the crisis in Europe. Because its trade deficit has been met by the United States, Germany has been able to carry on with a relatively low level of exports. The Second Report on European Recovery said that “the exports of the United Kingdom, which regained the 1938 level in 1947, [were] now some 40 per cent higher,” while “the exports of Germany, though increasing steadily, [were] still less than half as large as in 1938.” Germany’s excess of imports over exports ran to no less than \$1,114,000,000 in 1949, exceeding the 1948 figure. Its imports from the

United States, obtained through the aid program, were valued at \$825,000,000; its exports to the United States at only \$47,400,000. It is evident that a trade deficit of this magnitude cannot be continued indefinitely. Yet there are only two methods of reducing it. One is for German industry to recover part of its European market outside the Soviet Union and the Soviet orbit. This, of course, would increase the economic difficulties of other Marshall Plan countries, especially England, unless world trade rose steeply at the same time. The other is for Germany to expand its exports to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China. The Associated Press reported from Frankfurt on March 25:

It is the opinion of Allied officials here that Western Germany may within the near future threaten to seek trade relations with the Communist bloc in order to balance the steadily rising deficit in its trade with Western Europe and America.

The United States has so far been able to compel Germany to keep its exports to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe within narrow limits. But when Marshall Plan aid ends, Washington will no longer be able to exert such pressure. It goes without saying that if Germany forms strong economic ties with the Soviet Union and its satellites, important political repercussions must be expected. The advantage thus gained by Russia in the cold war will be all the greater if a rise in German exports to Eastern Europe solves, at least to some extent, the German unemployment problem.

It is clear, therefore, that to maintain the present not very stable political equilibrium in Western Europe, as well as to prevent further deterioration of the economic situation, the United States will be forced to furnish financial aid for a long time to come—while Europe adjusts itself to the new world situation.

BESIDE THE POINT

A YOUNG lady we know, of college age, was recently handed a questionnaire designed to test her values. She refused to fill it out on the ground that to do so would incriminate her, impair her moral constitution, and spoil her disposition. She passed it on to us, and now that we've read the thing we see what she means. Anyone who could answer these thirty questions in the prescribed fashion, by Yes or No or by designating (a) or (b), and could answer them fast—you are supposed not to linger over the questions or leave any of them unanswered—would have to regard himself at the end as (a) a confirmed cynic or (b) an accomplished and confident liar. And his "record" in the file would be about as accurate as the dossiers dreamed up by Senator McCarthy.

Here are a few of the questions—with unprescribed answers.

Q. If you had some time to spend in a waiting room and there were only these two magazines to choose from, would you prefer: (a) the *Scientific American*; (b) *Arts and Decoration*?

A. We'd be so dumfounded at not finding a copy of *Reader's Digest* or *Life* in the place that we'd brood over *that* question until our turn came—though we might take a look at the telephone book and pick out another dentist.

Q. If you were given certain topics on which to write an essay would you choose (a) the role of church-going in religion, or (b) the defects of our present educational systems?

A. (a) of course. Don't be silly. But don't assume for a minute, or for those "scientific" files of yours, that we're more interested in the role of churchgoing than in the defects of our educational systems. Any school-going freshman knows that you could turn off an "essay" on (a) in two hours flat and get an A, whereas anything you wrote on (b) might take days and days—and get you in bad with the professor, especially if he happened to be one of the defects in our educational system.

Q. Do you think that it is justifiable for the greatest artists, such as Beethoven, Wagner, Byron, etc., to be selfish and negligent of the feelings of others?

A. Do you think it is justifiable for the framers of questionnaires to plant in impressionable minds the smug assumption that the greatest artists, such as Etc., are any more selfish and negligent of the feelings of others than, say, the framers of questionnaires?

Q. Under similar circumstances would you choose to write about: (a) the best way to distribute one's income between, say, the necessities of life, luxuries, and savings; or (b) the personality of some close friend of yours?

A. We'd *love* to write an essay on the personality—if you can call it that—of a close friend of ours who hasn't a grain of sense about money but is always telling us the best way to distribute *our* income.

Q. Would you encourage your children, while in school, to: (a) try to make several teams; (b) have vocational training (supposing that they interfered with one another)?

A. It is extremely unlikely that we would have children while at school—what do you take us for anyway? But if we did and they interfered with each other, we'd turn them over to their father—if we knew who he was. Vocational training indeed!

All in all, we think our young friend was well advised to follow the precedent of Governor Driscoll of New Jersey, who, when he was asked the location of the Tacony-Palmyra bridge, replied: "I withhold an answer pending a court ruling on the propriety of the question."

M. M.

DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

"By Their Applause . . ."

WHEN Herbert Hoover, speaking in the Waldorf on the evening of April 27, rebuilt the cordon sanitaire around Russia, the editors and owners of our newspapers, 1,800 strong, cheered until they were red in the face. It was as if Mr. Hoover were singing to his exultant audience:

Backward, turn backward, O Time,
in your flight
Make me a child again, just for to-
night!

His comforting rendition of the lullaby of normalcy seemed to conjure up for the men who own and operate our newspapers the great days before the New Deal, when Democrats and Republicans agreed on everything but the tariff, when trusts were developing and labor was kept in its place—the cellar of the economy:

The children were nestled all snug
in their beds,
While visions of sugar-plums danced
in their heads.

After suggesting that the United Nations "should be reorganized without the Communist nations in it," Mr. Hoover, realizing that he had gone pretty far, proceeded, à la McCarthy, to smear his anticipated critics in advance. "All this may give pain to some people," Mr. Hoover said; "but by their cries ye shall know them." In other words, if you don't believe that the way to peace lies in "moral mobilization" over the corpse of the United Nations, plus a preventive war, you are no better than a Communist. And the editors and owners cheered some more.

Next day plaudits in print began to appear. The Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram and Sun* headed its editorial "Mr. Hoover's Great Idea" and urged that this great idea should be incorporated in the decisions taken at the coming London meeting of Western Foreign Ministers. Either out with the Russians or "a new united front of all freedom-loving people, which would, for most practical purposes, displace the U. N.," declared the *World-Telegram and Sun*. The *New York Daily News* said on Saturday: "We could

base a whole series of editorials on the speech if we had the space." Instead it let Herbert Hoover write half the editorial for it by hailing his words as the funeral oration of *Ore World*. The *News* went on to advocate ending the U. N. in order to help solve New York's housing shortage, recommending that its "Manhattan palace" be converted into "several hundred comfortable apartments." The only objection the *News* offered to Mr. Hoover's cordon-sanitaire plan was that the United States would then have to become "the all-time champ giver-away of money, raw materials, manufactured goods, and weapons to most of the non-Communist world." The *News* wanted the Hoover cake, but it didn't want to pay for it. Hearst's *Daily Mirror* headed its Saturday editorial "Patriot No. 1." The *Mirror* not only hailed Hoover's plans for reorganizing both American political parties and the U. N. in his own image, but read John Foster Dulles out of the Republican Party of Hoover, as did the *Daily News*, because Mr. Dulles had dared to speak of American isolationists as "de facto accomplices of Soviet communism."

The *New York Times* was not prepared to go so far as Mr. Hoover, and reorganize the U. N. for the kill—just yet. It found Mr. Hoover's idea of "moral mobilization" against communism "considerably more attractive." In other words, the *Times* doesn't want to kick the Russians out; it just wants to hand them their hats and coats. In commenting on its understatement of the atomic age, the *Times* remarked of the Hoover reorganization plan for the U. N.: "At this point there is room for some dissent from Mr. Hoover's interpretation." On the same page of the same issue Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, the paper's foreign affairs commentator, dissented with this warning: "But if we took the lead in excluding the Communists, thereby making the existing division official and irrevocable, the question is whether we should be left alone. The desire for 'neutrality' among our

allies is already too vocal for comfort."

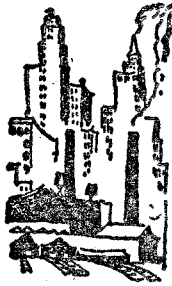
The *New York Herald Tribune*, which sometimes finds it difficult to reconcile its traditional Republicanism with the isolationist views of Herbert Hoover and other Republican leaders, went all out for Mr. Hoover's "moral mobilization" against "Red agnosticism" and "the hideous ideas of the police state and human slavery." But it criticized the reorganization of the U. N. without the Russians as impractical, which Mr. Hoover admitted might be so, and contended that his alternative of a non-Communist front was already functioning.

As soon as Herbert Hoover had finished talking, President Truman rushed to the telephone and called him at the Waldorf to say he was glad Hoover was calling for this moral mobilization because that was something he had himself been promoting for a long while. Charles G. Ross, the President's press secretary, hastened to assure Washington correspondents that this did not mean that the President of the United States wanted to kill the United Nations.

The applause of the newspaper editors and owners and the chorus of approval in the press were not echoed by worried people in this country and abroad. Secretary Acheson and both his Republican advisers, John Foster Dulles and John Sherman Cooper, wanted to keep the United Nations for a while. Secretary General Trygve Lie in London said that if Mr. Hoover's suggestion were carried out, there "would no longer be one world organization." Mrs. Roosevelt remarked that Hoover's were fine words from a Quaker.

Westbrook Pegler, George E. Sokolsky, John O'Donnell, Cholly Knickerbocker, and Rube Goldberg had not yet formed a ring around Hoover when this went to press. However, when he goes back to his California war library and studies in its wealth of documents how the cordon sanitaire was tried after the First World War and how it failed, he can take comfort in the approval of the press, which in fear of communism is so ready to embrace failure.

THE OBSERVER



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Shortsighted Protection

LAST week I wrote about the Administration's plans for stimulating imports so that when E. R. P. is wound up in 1952 it will be possible to balance America's international trading accounts at a high level. Assuming that E. R. P. is not renewed in a different form, and that private foreign investment remains around the present level of about one billion dollars annually, the one alternative to a hefty increase in imports is a very sharp cut in exports. Foreigners can spend here only the dollars that they earn or that we give or lend to them. There is no magic that will enable us to sell abroad without buying. Thus if we want to find overseas markets for our surplus wares—and unless we find them, many lines of production will be in serious trouble—we must continue to lower the bars that impede entry of foreign goods.

Last year our merchandise exports totaled \$12,500,000,000, and merchandise imports \$7,200,000,000. This gap of \$5,300,000,000 can be reduced only to a small extent by payments to foreigners for shipping, entertainment of tourists, and other services, since proceeds from these so-called "invisible imports" seem unlikely for some time to do more than balance payments by foreigners of interest and dividends on American loans and investments. Consequently, to maintain American imports at or near the 1949 level, an increase in imports of around \$5,000,000,000 will be required. This sounds like a large amount, but it is less than 2 per cent of our gross annual production.

Nevertheless, the prospect of more imports is causing despondency and alarm among those who fear foreign competition, and opposition to the Administration's policy is growing. For instance, quite a formidable united front directed against oil imports is being organized, as *The Nation* mentioned in its editorial columns two weeks ago. Lined up with the independent domestic oil interests are the coal operators and the United Mine Workers, who claim that imported fuel oil is displacing millions of tons of coal, and the railroads, which anticipate the loss of coal traffic. The hope of this group is to obtain either an increase in the import duty on crude oil, now 10½ cents a barrel, to \$1.05, or an import quota limiting oil imports, now equal to about 13½ per cent of domestic production, to 5 per cent of estimated demand.

Another group which wants smaller, not greater, imports is the non-ferrous-metal-mining industry. The *Wall Street Journal* of February 2 reported a speech by Andrew Fletcher, president of the St. Joseph Lead Company, complaining that currency devaluation abroad had resulted in the "dumping" of more foreign lead and zinc than the American market could absorb. However, since then demand for both these metals has improved and prices have risen. Some copper-

mining companies are agitating for a restoration of the 2-cents-a-pound duty on copper which was suspended during the war. There seems absolutely no justification for such a move. Domestic mines cannot possibly meet domestic needs; demand is very strong at present; prices are relatively high. Moreover, a reduction in imports, as our visitor President Gonzales Videla has reminded us, would disrupt trade relations with Chile, our chief supplier of copper, just as restrictions on oil imports would upset those with Venezuela, one of our largest foreign customers.

Let us now consider the case of the chemical industry and particularly that branch which manufactures coal-tar derivatives, such as dyes. Companies in this field have the benefit not only of high duties on competitive imports but of having such duties assessed, not on the foreign selling price, as with most goods, but on the American selling price. Thus if American makers of dyes raise their prices, import duties automatically increase proportionately. Moreover, as the *Wall Street Journal* of April 24 pointed out, whenever United States chemical companies "decide to duplicate a foreign innovation, they know the tariff will go up as soon as they succeed and put a competing, domestic copy on the market."

Because the customs-simplification bill which the Administration is readying would modify this position of exceptional privilege, the chemical industry is protesting violently and has already succeeded in delaying preparation of the bill. To help its fight it has enlisted the Munitions Board, which is said to be taking the line that any lessening of the protection enjoyed by the chemical industry might damage its war-time productive capacity. I suspect that this is nonsense. The manufacture of dyes has long since ceased to be an "infant industry," and most companies in the business are making huge profits. A little more foreign competition would be good for American consumers as well as for European importers.

I have more sympathy with the smaller industries, such as those engaged in the production of textiles, hats, gloves, pottery, watches, glassware, wall-paper, and bicycles, some of which have already been affected by foreign competition, while others are threatened by government proposals to cut tariff rates in forthcoming reciprocal-trade negotiations. Both workers and employers in certain of these trades have lately formed the National Labor-Management Committee on Foreign Trade to fight for greater protection. In an interview of April 13 a spokesman for this organization described the E. C. A. plan to step up imports as "a bizarre proposal" and protested against the spending of American money "to teach producers in other countries how best to penetrate our home market and undermine our labor standards, break the price structure, and throw Americans out of work."

It is easy to understand these fears. Most companies in these industries are relatively small; they have high labor costs which cannot easily be lowered by mass production methods, and so feel the competition of cheap foreign labor more than, say, the automobile makers. Yet in the most highly developed industrial country in the world no industry can claim a prescriptive right to protection, especially when the result of such protection is to hinder our foreign policy and thereby weaken our defenses.

BOOKS and the ARTS

ON WRITERS' CONFERENCES, III

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Verse From Conference Workshops

FOR one of the first assignments members of the workshop are directed to take a walk around the vicinity and report back, in a five-beat line, with some effort at variety of the vowel sounds and an attempt to avoid friction among the consonants, with comment on what they have observed. The intention is to establish some alertness and freshness of attention; usually one gets a good deal of mountains, or elms, or whatever the local scene may include. Mr. Stafford, however, noticed both people and things in an unsentimental manner, and brought together, effectively, in my opinion, his various kinds of experience.

I

WRITERS' CONFERENCE

Can the speakers know how high the volume is on?
"Tom Wolfe was here and I told him, 'Tom . . .'"
"Johnny Milton, our staff, and—oh yes—J. P. Marquand."
We are all fond of Johnny Marquand.

Can the college know how chilled a word may be?
Going home every day we use our eyes. We see
On a building: "Reserved for veteran amputee."
Reserved for veteran amputee.

Can a reader know the darkness behind a word?
Our poet says, "I can see that murder is good,
And the saint may kill, for anthropology."
Reserved for veteran amputee.
For anthropology.

Jesus Christ was here, and I told him, "Listen, Jeez . . ."
But he said, "Blessed are they all, in heart even these:
The world is a place for veteran amputees."
Blessed are they all in heart, even these.

WILLIAM STAFFORD

THE NEXT five poems are all based on experiment with off rhymes: in the first two the rhyme words at the ends of the stanzas were given, after they had been obtained by oral discussion in class; in the next three not only the rhyme words at the end of the odd-numbered stanzas were given but also the true rhymes at the beginning of stanzas two and four.

II

A windless night and muted stars; a slow sea-murmur
Rising, falling, lulling the motionless dreamer
Who lies by the waves that quiver to slimmer

Paths in a moving sea. She half hears the call
Of amber turning light and ceaseless ring of bell,
Seeing mandarin moon face, peering now beyond the dull

Receding sky—moving below the astral show.
Rubbing a rough-ribbed shell, the dreamer grows shy,
Austere in every muscle, in nerve a-quiver as she

Shrinks to soundless wings, protecting angel
Forever near, they said, to tell the stranger
Here an Unchanging is, and moves forever, within the
changing.

LUCRETIA HOBSON

III

The girls in bathing suits filed by amid a murmur.
"Ah, take your choice, you lonesome, lovesick dreamer.
Take this one lush and ripe, or that one slimmer."

With microphone in hand to call
Up to the stage each lovely belle
He pattered on, excitedly, but dull.

Some girls were bold to show
The judges what they had, and some were shy.
Then! Then! Ah then! A glow of tempting flesh, came she!

Help the poor wife, angel,
Whose spouse that night came home a stranger.
Nor let her blame the moon because it's ever changing.

GEORGE STARR

IV

SURELY

He sees best the loveliness in the simple
Curve of a cup or the carving of a temple
Who knows the cup may break, the temple crumble.

Oak giants may be felled by one sharp
Stroke of light, and dainty violets can
Choke an acreage of wiry grass.

The seeker after loveliness is believer
And user of light as a weapon hovering over
Destroyers of temples, who labor under cover.

Day comes to all who sanctify the dark
Way every traveler must pass.
May light employ its power!

If good is in the world as in a forest,
In men and plants afar as in the nearest,
The Light will triumph surely.

ETHEL J. THEILGAARD

V

COMFORT ME WITH APPLES

Bring to this love medicinals: one leech, one forest-herb
for simple,
And hands for healing. No frangipani bring, as to
decorate a temple—
Nor red jasmine—nor any shrinal bloom whose
pistils and stamens crumple.

Oak in starkness, willow in weight—return, return,
O my love, return!
Stroke that struck me, stroke that calmed then struck me
fresh in the calming—
Revoke! Return! This wakeful sleep, this drowsy dream,
are but anodynes.

The cure is else, if I am knowing leech. Yet—
I am no believer
In mender getting well, of himself. No believer in
mended healing over.
Somewhere grows a simple—rooted, stemmed, leaved—
my love, my lover.

Day in its promise of night still is day. Night and sleep
do not come.
Way into way I go—distantly, straitly, to pallet
staggering, blind.
(May is no month! When love has hot July and the wind,
March, to remember.)

Come, O my love! But first—for my ill—go!
Go to the green wet forest.
Search. Recapture the simple. Be sure. Resist to
pluck the weed nearest.
So shall I live, linger, reluctant sink of this hemorrhage.
And die surely.

ORAH COLE BRISCOB

VI

REGARD THE OAK

Too simple for my thought's crotched complication. Simple
In sense, in feeling. Shed tinted glasses. Push hair from
brow, from temple
No sagging here; this strength demands straight strength,
no crumple

Oak vertebraed, then, approaching oak. Let me correct
Stroke, there, of heart, sense, here; I can expect
Choke of an overworn throat. Now! Branch. Twig. Leaf.

These I must understand. No further, then. Hold here.
Believer
I have been in simple truths, but implications sliding over,
Layer on layer, emotion here, memory there, cover

Day clearness in the careful pattern. The plain directions
Say what the nice designer said. No more.
Way follows devious way

To glades of the ancient, well-documented forest.
Shall I give over? Separate veritable oak from that nearest,
Endearing regard that the heart knows surely?

ELIZABETH FEEMSTER

THE FOLLOWING exercise was based on the employment
of adjectives. Ten such were taken from a poem unknown to
the class, in this case Arthur Symons's translation of Valéry's
"Femme et Chatte"—agate, deepening, deadly, four, little,
marvelous, silken, stealthy, thin, white. The class was then
directed to compose a poem using these adjectives, in any
verse form they pleased and on any topic, but they were
supposed not to use any other adjectives. Mr. Kissen broke
the rules, but we concluded he had done well enough with
the assignment to be permitted the license.

VII

The spider spins his *silken* trap
With *stealthy* artless zeal,
Thin, *deadly* thread on deadly thread,
Fantastically unreal;

And then, his purpose *deepening*,
He trains his *agate* eye
With *marvelous* inattention on
The nearest *little* fly;

The panic, he remotely views,
The struggles to be free,
Ensnaring two and three and *four*
Until satiety.

Oh woman, whose *white*, deadly web
Is also *stealthy* spun,
How you must envy him his flies,
While you must do with one.

IRVING L. KISSEN

VIII

THE SPIDER

He is an agate drop of sin
In the web's white eye,
Whose thin and silken symmetry
Lures the may-fly in;

His little mind exudes a plan
Of mayhem and distress
And lays a net more marvelous
Than man or woman can:

While he in deepening darkness wove
His stealthy net of sin,
Within four walls we faltered in
The deadly one of love.

MARGARET COBB

[The first and second parts of this essay appeared in the
issues of April 22 and 29.]

Dreams Come True

THE GRAND ALLIANCE (THE SECOND WORLD WAR, III). By Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$6.

MR. CHURCHILL wins his readers by his ability to incorporate them imaginatively in actions of grandeur. His infectious eloquence transports them to the heights of their secret dreams of glory, in hopes forlorn or fulfilled, in victory and in defeat. Once there, he occasionally indulges himself and them in what Steig portrays as "everyday histrionics." He underlines their sense of being right among the masters of destiny and of men's fates in it by devoting perhaps half his text and a seventy-five-page appendix to the animated memoranda, minutes, directives, and fantastically varied queries that spouted from him during 1941, plus numerous nuggets chosen from his enemies' utterances and his associates' correspondence. At his best he communicates nobility and virtue; at his worst he calls up images of adults enjoying warlike toys and puppetry. Yet if this history might be nicknamed "Everyman His Own Napoleon," it is none the less a prodigious production by an unrepentant and resilient patriot who has been practicing politics, war, and historical writing, in the spotlight, for more than fifty years.

Since 1914 there have been many who felt that the wars of our time were too vast and complex for human grasp and direction. Historians have mirrored that belief by their inability to produce a history of the War of 1914 which transmitted both its pattern and its practice. Only a few poets managed partially to convey the macrocosm war through the microcosm man. No new Thomas Hardy has won for 1914-18 such an audience as was attracted to "The Dynasts." Mr. Churchill's formula for this problem as posed by the War of 1939 is frank and bold. He fills as many thousand pages as he pleases; he adopts the pattern of the war as he, both Prime Minister and Minister of Defense in Great Britain, saw it; and he bluntly subordinates some great matters to his central theme by carefully worded brief generalizations. The primary dislocation of Hitler's time-table for Rus-

sia and the Middle East by the hopeless Yugoslav resistance gets bare mention in the course of the ten chapters in Book I that deal with Germany's eastern drive. The Canadian army, air activities, and production are not mentioned in the "Battle of the Atlantic." A candid paragraph in the Preface explains that Churchill "cannot attempt to do more than refer to the struggle between the German and the Russian armies as the background of the actions of Britain and the Western Allies."

Outside Britain's sphere and Hitlerdom the United States practically fills Mr. Churchill's horizons. The proliferation of Anglo-American understanding is recorded in elaborate detail. If there was ever any doubt that Anglo-American alliance was his consuming central aim from the beginning, it is destroyed by the passage (pp. 606-608) embracing his thoughts after Pearl Harbor.

No American will think it wrong of me if I proclaim that to have the United States at our side was to me the greatest joy. . . . So we had won after all! . . . Our history would not come to an end. . . . United we could subdue everyone else in the world. . . . Being saturated with emotion and sensation, I went to bed and slept the sleep of the saved and thankful.

In that passage, as indeed throughout the American material in the three volumes, there is little trace of conspiracy, cunning, or connivance, but rather a mixed sense, historical, political, and almost aesthetic, of a grand tragic logic in events that the United States gradually ceased to resist. The very overabundance of exchanges between "Former Naval Person" and President Roosevelt, which tends to litter over the underlying feeling, also testifies to its strength.

A generation from now readers are likely to wonder how a skilled historian could be so obsessed by the American side of the medal as to neglect, relatively and seriously, its opposite Russian side. The paragraph which concludes the chapter Our Soviet Ally illustrates the technique of dutiful generalization, combined with an impatient immediacy and a tendency to treat Russian implication as accidental rather than ordained, that pretty well characterizes Churchill's history in this matter.

Without in the slightest degree challenging the conclusion which History will



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affirm that the Russian resistance broke the power of the German armies and inflicted mortal injury upon the life-energies of the German nation, it is right to make it clear that for more than a year after Russia was involved in the war she presented herself to our minds as a burden and not as a help. None the less we rejoiced to have this mighty nation in the battle with us, and we all felt that even if the Soviet armies were driven back to the Ural Mountains, Russia would still exert an immense and, if she persevered in the war, an ultimately decisive force.

Winston Churchill's hero has always been John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, the eighteenth-century founder of his distinguished house. He too was an impresario of grand alliances, and the comparison seems to show that he had the greater capacity to envisage and acknowledge a polygon of forces.

Everything here is subordinated to war operations, even the emotional concern with the people, their lives, and their trials which explains so much of Churchill's paradoxical political career. There is little in this volume about the civilian contribution to war for survival or the price paid for it. The great campaigns and contests are skilfully laid forth and combined as Churchill saw them, and dramatic "set pieces" commemorate Göring's "Pyrrhic" victory in Crete, the sortie and destruction of the Bismarck, the negotiation of the Atlantic Charter, and the combined land, sea, and air operations of November ("Crusader") which drove Rommel back from Egypt and relieved Tobruk. Naturally the fabric of the war is much more complete than in the abridged versions which appeared in periodicals, and the impish or theatrical touches are more widely scattered.

Finally, Churchill's narrative, like Eisenhower's, throws light on the vexed problem of conflicting authority, civil and military. Lloyd George's difficulties, particularly with the army, during the War of 1914 clearly taught Churchill that the Prime Minister must also be Minister of Defense and constitutionally empowered to dominate the armed as well as the civil services. He had the confidence needed to assume the role, and his people backed him up. The price paid, of course, somewhat as in Roosevelt's case (or Hitler's or Stalin's), was that power passed to a clique of able intimates, men such as

Beaverbrook who were accustomed to power but never before in such uninhibited or extensive forms. As long as they did not flout Churchill's authority, he stood between them and Parliament. He records many of the volleys of exhortation and advice that he kept firing at them, and adds enough of their responses to demonstrate that he did not always have his own way. Yet while he kept them on their toes by his single-minded determination, his versatility, and his amazing energy, he seems seldom to have forgotten that if he took the final responsibility he was answerable for it to the representatives of the people. Democracies habitually surrender to their executives in times of great crisis. Britons—and possibly others—may yet be thankful that, in spite of his enormous power, Mr. Churchill's great respect for constitutional tradition made him regard himself as "the servant of the House of Commons" and frequently inscribe that on the record.

J. B. BREBNER

Gide's Best and Worst

THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH. By André Gide. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.
DOSTOEVSKY. By André Gide. New Directions. \$2.50.

TWO SYMPHONIES. By André Gide. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

THE SCHOOL FOR WIVES, ROBERT, AND GENEVIEVE. By André Gide. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

CORYDON. By André Gide. Farrar, Straus and Company. \$2.75.

AUTUMN LEAVES. By André Gide. Philosophical Library. \$3.75.

THIS eightieth year of André Gide has brought us six translated volumes, which in turn comprise nine separate "books" and the thirty-two fugitive essays of "Autumn Leaves." Such is history's ironic revenge on the most patient and painstaking of stylists: to inundate us with the best and the worst. The best is contained in the earlier "Fruits of the Earth" (*Les Nourritures terrestres*, 1897) and in the lectures on Dostoevski of 1922. The worst is to be found somewhere in that dreary trilogy, "The School for Wives," "Geneviève," and "Robert."

The great though limited novelist—the Gide who triumphed over the perils

of extreme subjectivity, and who taught us to despise a massive documentary realism—is scarcely represented by the six volumes. We have instead the "critical novelist" honest enough to expose the dangers of his moral ideas when espoused by weaker minds. Of the two symphonies, "The Pastoral Symphony" is a critique of Gidean Christianity which is rather less subtle than the motion picture it inspired. "Isabelle," the other symphony, is sufficiently subtle: a study in Jamesian nuances and a critique of Gidean curiosity. But it is also Gide's only concession to that slow-textured realism which his better novels discredit. We find the great novelist, not here, but in the endlessly fruitful critical study and portrait of Dostoevski, which is also admittedly a self-portrait.

The demoralizer and corrupter of youth is amply represented by these volumes—though not in the specious biological analogies of "Corydon." If Gide ever defended homosexuality with any persuasiveness, it was rather in the chapters of "The Counterfeiters" dramatizing Edouard's love. The true demoralizer—who taught the dangerous doctrine of happiness, and of happiness to be found even in pleasure and in calculated ease—appears in "The Fruits of the Earth." In the long run of fifty-three years its Whitmanesque appeal to fervor and to the sensuous enjoyment of leisure has counted most of all. It can still make us uneasy and nostalgic. In the short run the book's attack on institutions—on the family and by implication on the church—may have seemed more shocking. But France is a Catholic and bourgeois country, where conservative institutions die hard. In 1948, in the last of the "Autumn Leaves," Gide felt it necessary to deny personal immortality categorically.

There is finally the Gide of the many spiritual autobiographies, the architect of a troubled and austere image. What nearly all these autobiographies have lacked, even the "Journals," has been the warmth and sprightliness of the living man, attested by nearly all his friends, the uncapturable personality which only an outsider can see. Yet some of it has been captured in the spontaneous pages of "Autumn Leaves"—from the 1924 recollections of Joseph Conrad to the 1948 recollections of the actor Antonin Artaud. We find

it perhaps most of all in "Dindiki," the fourteen-page essay on a pet monkey who lived on Gide's shoulder and in his half-open shirt during his Congo journey, and who at last died in his arms. With Gide at least, style may triumph over subject, and the famous essay on this monkey is likely to survive the famous essays—also found here—on Goethe and Valéry.

It is disquieting to receive so much Gide in a single year. But there is still, one trusts, more to come. The translation of "Si le grain ne meurt" and "Le Prométhée mal enchaîné" are out of print. Two Harvard graduate students, Mrs. Farmer England and Mr. George Steiner, are now translating "Le Voyage d'Urien" of 1893, a symbolic prose-poem and novel which unmistakably looks forward to surrealist humor and illogic. Written before Gide had discovered his homosexual inclinations, its homosexual images of dissolution offer a document of primary importance on the workings of the troubled preconscious mind.

ALBERT GUERARD, JR.

Milton as Humanist

JOHN MILTON. By Rex Warner.
Chanticleer Press. \$1.75.

REX WARNER says of this little book on Milton: "I have attempted to give, together with a short biography, a few personal impressions nearly all proceeding from the great admiration I have always felt for this poet. . . . In fact, I have attempted rather to record enthusiasm than to further scholarship or to promote understanding." This is an unnecessarily modest disavowal: a discriminating and informed enthusi-

asm, as Rex Warner's is, in itself promotes understanding, and without the personal impression, the individual shock of recognition, criticism and scholarship are a vain thing. It would be hard to put the case better than he has for a living interest in Milton.

In resting his case primarily on the direct response of reader to writer he quietly by-passes such critical mare's-nests as the long and dreary controversy about Milton's poetic manner initiated by T. S. Eliot. "If it is true," he says, "that Milton wrote so powerfully and with such an individual style that he somehow disrupted the main stream of English poetry, I cannot for that reason deplore his least word." Likewise he has no inhibitions about going back to Blake's dictum that Milton was of the devil's party without knowing it, though well enough aware how anxiously and thoroughly it has been proved that Milton did not know it. Nor, finally, does he show the concern that some contemporary critics have felt over the unclassically personal elements that color Milton's adaptations of classic forms. All this enables him to deal with "Paradise Lost," for instance, at what, if it is to evoke a response at all, forms its primary sources of power: Satan in the first two books, Adam and Eve at the Fall, and the unconscious justification hinted at in both of man's ways—and Milton's ways—to God.

His book is above all an affirmation of Milton as a humanist, the "permanent European," at the center of a vital tradition. Its chief virtue is to have redefined the conflicting elements that Milton's humanism somehow reconciled: energetic faith in reason and responsibility and the tragic recognition

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of defeat; belief in the individual and the sense of the perils that beset the individual's path; emphasis on man as man and the sense of the power of the ultra-human. "It is difficult, or impossible, to say anything new of Milton's life or art," Warner says in his foreword; but it is not impossible, as his book proves, to deal freshly and pointedly with the familiar.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Art

WELDON
KEES

SINCE the end of the war only a dribble of contemporary French painting has found its way to New York, and the meager examples available here have made it difficult to come up with any sweeping statement on the work of the generations trailing Picasso, Matisse, and Leger. Then, too, there has been no knowing whether the little we have been permitted to see represents average, inspired, or inferior choices. And there has been an additional difficulty in deciding to what extent the apparent slump in French art—and literature—is attributable to the extremities of the war and its aftermath. Recently we have had the very young M. Buffet, an enormous success in Paris—an experience which has not been very reassuring either in regard to current French taste or to the state of "new" French painting; and we have had Dubuffet, whose work marks the only radical break with an increasingly academic and derivative abstract movement abroad. Dubuffet's singular eminence receives not even the mildest

threat at Carré's current show, "Advancing French Art" (through May 31), which includes twenty-six canvases by six painters, two of them Russians and one a German. "Advancing" and "French" are perhaps not the most desirable terms for this occasion.

Jean Bazaine, a capable painter, is represented by work that does not show him at his best. Maurice Estève "seeks a harmony of the whole," says the catalogue note; on the basis of these works a continued search would seem to be in order. Hans Hartung's painting, possibly as a result of his disastrous experiences during the war, has become more disordered and lacking in necessity. Charles Lapicque is a Ph.D. specializing in optics; his paintings look very much like the sort a Ph.D. specializing in optics might do. Nicolas de Staël and André Lansky, the Russians, are much freer and more open; knowing colorists, both of them obviously find great pleasure in paint. A notion exists that there is a facility peculiarly French for "finishing" a painting—the capacity for giving a canvas the final seal of completion that marks it "guaranteed genuine hand-painted oil, made in France," and many French painters do have this capacity to a marked degree. In this instance, the Russians have learned the lesson even better than the men of their adopted country; but they seem more deeply concerned with the finishing touch in a rather narrow sense (French painting in the twentieth century) than with a "contribution"—a fresh and vital approach that is felt at all stages of the painting rather than its ultimate one. Their failure is the result of adhering, not to a tradition, but to their

narrow concept of what they believe constitutes this tradition. It is precisely Matisse, Vuillard, Bonnard, and Picasso (sometimes) who avoid the "finishing touch" like the plague. And it is Dubuffet who has actively mocked at it in order to go beyond a tradition that he had come to feel was, for him at least, stifling and deadening.

Last month, commenting irritably about the young American artists recently singled out by *Life*, I wrote that "nineteen young artists of greater talent and adventurousness could easily have been discovered in a single county, with the application of a little knowledge or curiosity." Working quite independently of this suggestion, Meyer Schapiro and Clement Greenberg, two of the critics most alert to serious art activity, have proceeded to assemble just such an exhibition, at the Kootz Gallery (through May 15). Called "Talent 1950," it includes work by twenty-three unknown or little-known painters living in New York, most of them under the age of thirty. If it fails to reveal any breathtaking revolutionary mood or to indicate any sharp break with the course of contemporary painting, the show is a notable one for a number of other reasons. It marks the first time, to my knowledge, that a show of this scope and nature has been installed in a major gallery: these are largely outcast and unrecognized painters who are ordinarily brushed off by Fifty-seventh Street. It has been chosen by men of advanced tastes, willing to take risks and make use of their own brains, instead of the ruck of cross-section fanatics and Gallup Poll characters who infest our museums and magazines. It is a very young show, with all such a show's uncertainties and gropings, but with enormous spirit and optimism and love of paint. This is all to the good: some of *Life's* young painters had a middle-aged look before they got out of their twenties.

Of the artists whose work was new to me, Esteban Vicente seems easily the most accomplished—lyrical, serene, assured, soaked in culture, and, if this canvas is any indication, quite ready for a show of his own. Al Leslie's all-over canvas makes an even stronger first impression than Vicente's but it is a little too up-to-the-minute and fails to retain its original appeal after extended

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examination. Harry Jackson's Triptych takes more chances than any other painting in the show; it has great *weight*; but in risking so much Jackson has not ordered all its elements sufficiently. The best of the women—Elaine de Kooning, Clara Elkoﬀ, Lenita Manry, Sue Mitchell, and Leatrice Rose—indicate the welcome emergence of a new school of muscular female Fauves. Manny Farber, a painter who shows far too infrequently, emerges as the strongest and most original colorist in the show, and perhaps the most ambitious painter of the lot. Hyde Solomon is inadequately represented by a small and charming water color; and I admired the spirit of the works by Robert Good-nough and Franz Kline.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

FIRST, one of the great events of the year: Columbia's LP version of the Szigeti recording of Bach's D minor Concerto (ML-4286). The work is one of Bach's greatest—one in which the sustained highest-level invention is tremendously exciting—as exciting as the sustained operation of Szigeti's powers in one of his highest-level performances. The sound of this performance with the New Friends of Music Orchestra under Stiedry, which was heart-breakingly distorted by the 78 rpm records issued ten years ago, now comes off the LP record natural and agreeable, though in need of additional bass and treble from one's phonograph. On the reverse side is another exciting demonstration of Szigeti's playing style—in Bach's very dull C major Sonata for unaccompanied violin, with the recording this time requiring drastic reduction of treble.

On a London LP record (LLP-144) are Bach's Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 4 and 6—the first a more engaging work than the second; and on another (LPS-147) his fine Suite No. 3 (the one with the wonderful melody known as the Air for G String). The playing of the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Karl Münchinger is good; the tempos make the performances stolid; with treble reduced their recorded sound is excellent. The definitive per-

formances of these works are still, and likely to remain, those of the Busch Chamber Players fifteen years ago; and I endorse the suggestion from one reader that Columbia and Victor issue them on LP.

Rubinstein plays simply and with good taste in a performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 with the Royal Philharmonic under Beecham issued by Victor (DM-1345, 4 12"). But the definitive performance here is Schnabel's; and the one to acquire is the one he recorded after the war for H.M.V., especially since the cost has been reduced by the devaluation of the pound. Another reason for preferring Schnabel is that Rubinstein plays a cadenza by Saint-Saens which is as trashy as one might expect.

I like Campoli's mannered phrasing of slow melody in the performance of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto on a London LP (LPS-90) as little as in the performance on 78.

Another London LP (LPS-138) offers Bloch's "Schelomo" for cello and orchestra, played by Zara Nelsova with the London Philharmonic under the composer's direction. The piece has impressive moments; but it makes me wish again for a performance of "Voice in the Wilderness," which I recall as one of Bloch's finest works. The performance is good; contrapuntal texture is not clearly defined in the recorded sound.

Bartok's Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta is on a Capitol LP (L-8048), played by the Los Angeles Chamber Symphony under Harold Byrns. I have heard the piece several times now, and still find it a work put together with impressive craftsmanship which doesn't make the musical sense for my mind that it made for Bartok's and makes for some other listeners'. The performance seems good and is agreeably reproduced.

What I have just said about musical sense is even more true of Bartok's Sonata for unaccompanied violin, recorded for Victor by Menuhin (DM-1350, 3 12"). The performance seems good; surfaces are noisy.

Except for the engagingly melodic slow introduction and slow middle movement, Copland's Sonata for violin and piano, recorded by Fredell Lack and Leonid Hambro for Allegro (AL-33),

impresses me as expert manipulation of the barest minimum of inconsequential ideas. The performance seems good; its recorded sound requires drastic reduction of treble. On the reverse side is Hindemith's Sonata Opus 11 No. 2.

The answers to my question in the April 1 issue have, without exception, requested reviews of 33 1/3 rpm records issued by the major companies, and of 78 rpm only when the work or performance is important and not issued on LP. A few readers have asked in addition for reviews of everything by the smaller companies; a greater number of more realistic readers have limited their request to important works not issued by the major companies; and

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in doing what they ask I must accept the further limitation imposed by the fact that certain of the smaller companies don't send me their records for review. And some readers, finally, have asked for reviews of important foreign recordings, which I can provide only occasionally when the recording is accessible and space is available.

Right now, through the kindness of Elaine Music Shop, I can satisfy interest in the Italian H.M.V. recording of Monteverdi's "Orfeo." The solo parts are in recitative which I find monotonous; but there are charming choral passages and instrumental interludes. The tenor who sings the First Shepherd would be better suited to "Cavalleria Rusticana," and the Eurydice has a strong tremolo; but the other singers are good. The performance is agreeably recorded; surfaces are noisy. Elaine Shop provides a libretto with the Italian text and an English translation by Ellen A. Lebow.

Elaine Shop also has enabled me to compare the recent Schnabel-Fournier performance of Beethoven's Cello Sonata Opus 102 No. 2 with the old Casals-Horszowski performance. It is something of a revelation to hear the piano part as Schnabel plays it; but listening to Fournier one finds it difficult to recognize the phrases that were so wonderfully meaningful as Casals played them, and listening again to Casals one is overwhelmed by what his thinking and playing of them make of them.

CONTRIBUTORS

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